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NOTES ON JOHN AND GEORGE LUCAS

By BEATRICE ST. J. RAVENEL

In view of the perennial interest in Elizabeth (better known as Eliza) Lucas, it is surprising that so little has been said on the subject of her grandfather and her father, John and George Lucas. The sources from which the following information is taken are readily accessible, and the material itself should be of interest if only as showing to some degree the vicissitudes of seventeenth and eighteenth century West Indian life.

Eliza Lucas was, on her father's side at least, a third-generation American. Her grandfather, John, lived in Antigua. Though no evidence has been found to show that he ever came to Carolina, he bought land by Wappoo Creek. It was the purchase of this plantation, later the property of his son, George, which led in some degree to Eliza's coming here, and consequently to her experiments with indigo, her marriage to Charles Pinckney and the birth of her sons, the Pinckney generals.

From a South Carolinian point of view, this purchase, considered in the light of its results, was the most important act of John's career. To John, however, the high point may well have been the first time he was chosen speaker of the Assembly of Antigua. The low point probably came during his quarrel with Christopher Codrington, governor of that island.

John Lucas was a member of the Assembly of Antigua as early as March 26, 1683,¹ and in May of the same year he was one of several men chosen "to review and correct the Acts that are to be sent home."² Two months later, he was made one of a committee of four to see to the repairs of a fort.³ In January, 1695, "The members of the Assembly were sworn and chose John Lucas as their Speaker, who was approved."⁴

But on May 4, 1697, his troubles began. He later set forth their cause and consequences in a petition written January 9, 1699, to the Council of Trade, in London:⁵

"Petition of John Lucas of Antigua to Council of Trade. The petitioner, a man of good estate, member and often Speaker of the General Assembly, hearing many complaints against persons greatly encouraged by Governor Codrington, endeavoured, with the Assembly, to lay their misdemeanours before the Governor in order to have them punished and removed from

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1681-1685*, item 1,020.

² *Ibid.*, item 1,079.

³ *Ibid.*, item 1,157.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1693-1696, item 1663.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1699, item 25.

their places of trust, but to no purpose. On hearing that His Majesty [William III] had been graciously pleased to appoint a Committee of Trade with power to examine into the administration of the government and justice of Antegoa, amongst other places, the petitioner wrote, May 4, 1697, informing your Lordships of several great mismanagements, abuses, violences, oppressions and obstructions of justice and connivance at notorious offenses committed by Governor Codrington in the administration of his government. All which he is ready to prove on oath, now the Governor is dead. Hearing of the petitioner's letter Governor Codrington conceived a mortal hatred against the petitioner and studied and contrived all ways of revenge, and by his warrant, April 23, 1698, reciting that the petitioner and his son-in-law, John Austin, being summoned had not appeared at the Council held April 14, he committed your petitioner to gaol to be kept there until he produced his own body and the body of his son-in-law, and having sworn two of his creatures into the Council above the number directed, procured an order of Council, May 5, 1698, that your petitioner should continue in custody until he gave security of £5,000 to appear at the next general sessions to answer all Bills, complaints, &c., against him. During which confinement your petitioner suffered very great hardships and lost in his affairs and had a child died in prison with him and was barbarously refused by the Governor to see him buried. At a Court of General Sessions, June 16, 1698, the Governor caused two indictments to be exhibited against the petitioner for words against him, which were brought in *ignoramus* by the Grand Jury, and then exhibited an information against him for writing a 'scandalous libel,' the letter of May 4. The petitioner was convicted of libel and fined £100. The Governor then claimed £5,000 damages for a scandalous libel against himself and without any legal proof, was awarded £2,000 by a jury. Petitioner was forced to bring a writ of error before the General Council but could never procure a full Court. Your Lordships wrote to the Governor expressing your opinion of this prosecution and the excessive bail required and then the petitioner was permitted to come over, [*i.e.*, to England] which before he had been denied. He now prays your Lordships to examine the matters of fact alleged herein, and since the Letter of Information of May 4 does not make him liable to indictment and the prosecution by the Governor is an affront to your Lordships' power and a terror to the subject, whose right it is to complain to your Lordships, to remit the £100 and to have relief against the heirs and executors of the late Governor upon the judgment of £2,000. *Signed, John Lucas.*"

The affair dragged on for months between Lucas and Colonel Christopher Codrington, son of the dead governor. On March 7, "Mr. Lucas consented to refer the difference between him and Col. Codrington to the

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Lord Lucas," [Lord Robert Lucas].⁶ The matter was not settled, however, until both John Lucas and Colonel Codrington agreed to submit to the decision of the board of trade.⁷ On May 2, 1699, with both of them present, Lucas gave in to the board's opinion and acknowledged his error "in having used divers passionate expressions reflecting upon the honour of the said Governor." In return, Colonel Codrington released him from the £2,000 judgment, giving, in fact, a general release,⁸ and on May 18, William III remitted the fine of £100.⁹

So ended this affair, which must have been costly as well as vexatious, necessitating a round trip to London and months of waiting there, to say nothing of fees. Instead of being any longer the "man of good estate" that he had termed himself in January, Lucas was included, in July, in a list of "honest men of small estates."¹⁰

This characterization, "honest," should be remembered in reading Richard Oglethorp's accusation which came a few years later. Oglethorp charged Lucas with having dealings with Captain Tempest Rogers, "yt. maid yt. grate voyage with Capt. Kidd." But Oglethorp was tossing accusations left and right, and they probably were as incorrect as his orthography. The man to whom he sent his charges, Charles Hedges, secretary of the Leeward Islands, was apparently on good terms with Lucas's son, George, some years later.

Oglethorp wrote from "Carolinier" on January 27, 1706, a letter headed "An account of persons trading with pirates." The greater part was concerned with Rogers, whom Oglethorp accused not only of voyaging with Kidd but of becoming a naturalized Dane, so as to trade as a neutral with the French and Spaniards, whom the English were then fighting.

According to Oglethorp, "Jno. Lucas, that lives in Antigua, went to St. Thomas [in the Danish Virgin Islands] and did macke up account wth. Capt. Rogers, he being Attorney for ye owners in London, and was paid to a penny and did give a discharge in full in behalfe of ye owners, which is contrary to law, when he knew what he was, *etc.* Lucas being a Justice at that time, Capt. Rogers drew a bill on Capt. Collihorne [another Antiguan whom Oglethorp accuses of trading with Rogers] which was excepted of Mr. Lucas, *etc.*"¹¹

But in 1714, despite this blast, John Lucas was still residing at Antigua, and was buying land in Carolina. Among the acts passed in this

⁶ *Ibid.*, item 154

⁷ *Ibid.*, items 233 and 318.

⁸ *Ibid.*, item 335.

⁹ *Ibid.*, item 405.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, item 659.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1706-1708, item 53.

province was one "to impower John Guerard and Benjamin Godin, of Charlestowne, merchants, to grant and convey a tract of land in Berkley county, unto John Lucas, of Antigua, Esq: according to a trust in him, the said John Guerard and Lewis Pasquereau, merchant, deceased, reposed by the said John Lucas. June 12, 1714."¹²

Near the end of the year, another act empowered "Ralph Izard and Benjamin Godin, merchant . . . to sell and convey a plantation" containing 523 acres "unto Col Alexander Parris and Charles Hill, Esq; . . . in trust to and for John Lucas," and authorized them to sell some slaves belonging to Lucas, to pay a debt.¹³

The name of John Lucas's son, George—Eliza's "Dear Papa"—is found on a list of nominations to the Council of Antigua, dated April 18, 1726.¹⁴ A list of councillors of July 19, 1733, also includes his name.¹⁵ In 1739, he was referred to as "Major George Lucas of the Leeward Islands Regiment."¹⁶ In the same year we find an "Affadavit of George Lucas, enclosing details of the account of the Secretary, Charles Hedges, from Feb. 1716 to June 1719, paid by Lucas as Treasurer."¹⁷ Hedges was the man to whom Oglethorpe had written.

Meanwhile, the *South Carolina Gazette*, of October 7, 1732, spoke of a sailor drowning "in Wappoo Creek, over against Col Lucas's Plantation," and in 1734, an advertisement stated that "An Overseer is wanting for Coll. Lucas's Plantation," the applicant to apply to "Capt. Beal in Charlestown."¹⁸

By 1737, George seems to have been in South Carolina, for he advertised, over his own name, for a run-away "indentured Irish Servant named Barnard Hughs, aged about 25."¹⁹ Two years later, an advertisement for a lost horse spoke of Lucas's house "next door to Mr. Harvey near White Point," as well as of the Wappoo Creek plantation.²⁰ Another horse advertisement in 1740 described the animal as having strayed "out of the Yard of Col. Geo. Lucas near Conselliere's at the upper End of Tradd-street."²¹ This one was signed by Charles Pinckney who four years later married Eliza.

The *Gentleman's Magazine*, in 1741, recorded under "Promotions," the appointment of young George Lucas, Eliza's brother, as ensign in

¹² *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, VI, p. 645.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 645.

¹⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series*, III, p. 821.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 822.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, p. 555.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, *The Unbound Papers*, item 451.

¹⁸ *South Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 16-23, 1734.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, March 5-12, 1737.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, August 25-Sept. 1, 1739.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 29-Jan. 5, 1740.

"Dalzell's Foot."²² Her father appeared in the promotion list in the December issue of 1742: "George Lucas, Esq;—Lieut. Governor of the Island of Antegoa, in room of Edward Byam, Esq; deceased."²³

Meanwhile his wife and daughters were living in South Carolina, where Eliza was busy with her indigo experiments. In 1744, she married Chief Justice Charles Pinckney.²⁴ Not long after her marriage, the rest of her family in South Carolina sailed for Antigua aboard the brigantine *Bugby Hole*,²⁵ to join the lieutenant governor.

The Wappoo plantation had been advertised for sale in June, 1744,²⁶ but nothing was done until August 23, 1746, when Lucas, still in Antigua, paid off a mortgage which he owed on the place to one Charles Dunbar, also an Antiguan. The plantation is described in this document as "lately in Possession of John Lucas late of the said Island of Antigua Esquire Father of the Said George Lucas."²⁷

Two days later, George mortgaged the Wappoo plantation and four others, one of which was on the Combahee River and the rest on the Waccamaw, as well as a dwelling in Newgate Street, St. John, Antigua, and some slaves, for £2,595 "lawfull money of Great Britain," to another Antiguan, Charles Alexander. The terms provided that the money was to be repaid in installments, of which the last and greatest was to be in 1751.²⁸ The property was not redeemed, and in 1754 Alexander was advertising the Wappoo tract for sale.²⁹

Not long after signing the agreement, Lucas was captured by the French and died a prisoner of war. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, in its January issue of 1747, listed the death of "Geo Lucas, Lieut. Col. of Dalzel's Reg. and Lieut. Governor of Antigua, at Brest, being taken in an Antigua ship."³⁰

²² *Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1741, p. 442.

²³ *Ibid.*, December, 1742, p. 659.

²⁴ *South Carolina Gazette*, June 20, 1744.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1744.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, June 11, 1744.

²⁷ Office of the Register of Mesne Conveyance, Charleston, S. C., Vol. CC, p. 175:

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

²⁹ *South Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 29–Feb. 5, 1754.

³⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1747, p. 45.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH NOTICES FROM THE CITY GAZETTE
OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

Contributed by ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY

(Continued from July)

Died, in this city, of the prevailing fever, on the 21st inst. Mr. John Henry Benson, Jr. aged 19 years . . . a native of Massachusetts. (Wednesday, September 29, 1819)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. P. Catonnet and Mr. Charles Meuzy, are invited to attend the Funeral of the latter from the residence of Mr. Thomas Johnston, King street Road, This Morning, at 8 o'clock, without further invitation. (Thursday, September 30, 1819)

Letters from Columbia announce the lamented death of Dr. Edward Darrell Smith, Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, in the College of South Carolina. "This high minded and noble man" to use the language of one of these letters, died of a bilious fever, at the house of his friend, Mr. Colter, at St. Louis, in the Missouri Territory, on the 17th day of August last, after an illness of twelve days. . . . (Thursday, September 30, 1819)

Died, on the 21st inst. at the residence of Charles Richardson, esquire of Clarendon, Dr. William F. Bradbury, formerly of the navy . . . a native of Massachusetts, and for some few years a resident of this State. (Thursday, September 30, 1819)

Died, on the 22d inst. Mr. John Langstaff, in the 24th year of his age. . . (Thursday September 30, 1819)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. Thomas J. Horsy and Mr. John Reed, are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral of the late Mrs. Rugg, from the residence of Mr. Horsy, corner of King and Wentworth Streets, This Morning, at ten o'clock. (Monday October 4, 1819)

The Friends and Acquaintances of John and James M'Bride, are invited to attend the Funeral of the Latter, from No 9 Bull-street, This Morning, at 8 o'clock, without further invitation. (Monday, October 4, 1819)

Married, on Friday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, John Blake

White, Esq. to Miss Anna Rachel O'Driscoll, daughter of Dr. O'Driscoll, all of this city. (Tuesday, October 5, 1819)

Departed this life on the 29th ult. Mrs. Thomas Woolley, in the 27th year of her age. An aged mother, an affectionate sister and brothers, together with a disconsolate husband, and five young children are left to bewail and experience their irreparable loss. . . . (Tuesday October 5, 1819)

Departed this life, on the 27th September, Master Edwin Grayson, aged 16 years and 2 months. (Tuesday, October 5, 1819)

Died, in this city, on the 15 ult. of the prevailing fever, Master Richard Sanders Kennedy, son of Capt. James Kennedy, in the 11th year of his life. . . . (Wednesday, October 6, 1819)

Died, in this city, on the 3d inst. of the prevailing fever, Mrs. Susan Ruggs, aged 34 years, a native of Boston, Mass. . . . (Thursday, October 7, 1819)

Died, in Augusta (Geo.) on Wednesday; the 28th ult. of a Dropsy, with which he had for some time been afflicted, . . . Thomas Commander Russell, Esq. in the 66th year of his age. He was a native of South Carolina, but for many years an inhabitant of Georgia. He was an officer in the Revolutionary army, and at the siege of Charleston, and at subsequent periods of the American war was distinguished for his activity and zeal. . . . (*Augusta Herald*) (Thursday, October 7, 1819)

Married, in Boston, by the Rev. Mr. Ware, Mr. Daniel W. Hall, merchant of this city, to Mrs. Sarah Ann Cremer. (Friday, October 8, 1819)

Died, at Kingstree, (S. C.) aged 22, Mr. Isaac A. Cohen merchant, of that place. . . . (Friday, October 8, 1819)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Wm. Waller, James O'Reilly, and Mrs. Mary Mayberry, are requested to attend the Funeral of the latter This Morning precisely at 9 o'clock, from the residence of Wm Waller, No. 31, Broad street, without further invitation. (Friday, October 8, 1819)

The Friends and Acquaintances of the late James Scot, and of Mr. Henry Bryce, and also the Members of the St. Andrew's Society, are respectfully invited to attend the Funeral of the former, This Morning at 8 o'clock precisely, from his late residence, No. 112 Tradd street near Church street, without further invitation. (Friday, October 8, 1819)

Died, in this city, on the 19th ultimo, William M. Flack, Esq., of St. Paul's Parish, in his 25th year . . a gentleman of great mildness and urbanity . . . he had many friends, who sincerely lament his early death, but his widowed wife (with an infant daughter of 2 days) can only be consoled by knowing he died a pious Christian. . . . (Saturday, October 9, 1819)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Dr. Samuel Todd, of Laurens, and John Steele, are requested to attend the Funeral of the former's Son, Robert A. Todd, from his late residence, King-street Road, This Morning at 8 o'clock. (Saturday, October 9, 1819)

Married, at New York, on Thursday, the 30th ult, by the Rev. Thomas Brintnall, Mr. John S. Jones, of Charleston, to Miss Sarah Vermilyea, of the former place. (Monday, October 11, 1819)

" 'Tis a delightful task to contemplate the memory of departed worth." This observation may with truth be applied to the late Miss Harriet Spindler, who closed her mortal existence in this city on the 4th inst. after a painful illness of nine weeks, aged 23 years. . . . (Monday October 11, 1819)

Married, at New York, on the 2d inst. at St. John's Chapel, by the Rev. Dr. Brownwell, W. G. Bucknor Esq. to Miss Emma A. Bulow, daughter of Charles W. Bulow, of this city. (Wednesday, October 13, 1819)

Departed this transitory life, in Pineville, St. Stephen's parish, Miss Mary Elizabeth Weare, in the 16th year of her age. This amiable and accomplished young lady had gone to enjoy the Summer with her friends fell a victim to the Country Fever. . . . (Friday, October 15, 1819)

Died, at his uncles plantation, Black River, on the 28th ult. of a consumption, Mr. Philip Inglesby, a native of Mitcham, Eng. but for years a resident of New York, and latterly of this place, aged 21 years. . . . (Friday, October 15, 1819)

It is a painful duty to lift the pen to eulogize . . but the death of Mr. Lewis Strobel, Jun. urges me to do so. This unfortunate young man preferred the life of a sailor, and at the early age of seventeen embarked for London. . . . He was returning to his native city . . but a Supreme Being doomed him to a watery grave. . . . (Friday, October 15, 1819)

Died, at New Orleans, on the 10th inst. Mr. William I. Champney, a native of Boston. (Friday, October 15, 1819)

Died, at New Orleans, on the 15th ult. Mr. Joseph Lundon, Printer late of Baltimore. (Friday, October 15, 1819)

Died, on the 15th ult. at New Orleans, Alexander Maitland, aged about 24 years, a native of Scotland, but later from New York. (Friday, October 15, 1819)

Died, aged 9 years and 4 months, Robert Pringle Smith, the eldest son of Robert Smith, Esq., of this city. This very amiable boy, on Thursday, the 7th inst. complained of a headache, which proved a symptom of yellow fever. . . . (Saturday, October 16, 1819)

. . . Joseph Beard . . . departed this transitory life on the 12th inst. of the prevailing fever. He was a native of Ireland, and had not been here long in this city. . . . (Monday, October 18, 1819)

Departed this life, on the 7th inst. Mr. James Scot, aged 61 years and 8 months, a native of Scotland, but for 35 years a respectable inhabitant of this city. . . . (Monday, October 18, 1819)

Died, on Saturday the 9th inst. after a painful illness of a few days, of a dropsy in the chest, Mrs. Sarah C. Davis, aged 26 years and 1 month. Her death is much lamented by all her friends. (Monday, October 18, 1819)

Died, at Walterborough, on the 29th ultimo, after two days illness Miss Mary Wilson Floyd, in the 19th year of her age, oldest daughter of the Rev. Loami Floyd. (Monday, October 18, 1819)

Died, at Orangeburg District, October 13th Mr. Ebenezer Bassit, aged about 28, a native of Oxford, Connecticut. (Monday, October 18, 1819)

Died, at the Quarantine Ground, New York, on Monday the 4th inst. Capt. J. H. Tupper, late of the brig Eliza Jane, one of the regular packets between this port and New York. (Monday, October 18, 1819)

Died, on the 4th inst. in Sumpter District, near Sumterville, at Captain L. White's residence, after an illness of three days, Mr. David P. Owens,

of Williamsburgh District, but a native of Marion District, S. C. (Monday, October 18, 1819)

Died, at North Inlet, near Georgetown, S. C. on the 13th ult. of a few days illness, Mr. Morris L. Henry, (of the house of M. L. Henry & Co. of Georgetown) a native of London, but for many years a resident and valuable citizen of that town. (Monday, October 18, 1819)

Married, at Woburn (Mass.) on the 7th instant, Mr. John Reed (of the firm of Reed & Cooper, of this city) to Miss Susan Clapp, of the former place. (Tuesday, October 19, 1819)

Died, at Franklin, (Mo.) on the 1st ult. Dr. William Baldwin, of the United States Navy. Dr. Baldwin arrived there some time previous . . . as one of the gentlemen attached to the Scientific Expedition destined to explore the Missouri, but was compelled to leave the boat at Franklin, in consequence of ill health. (Tuesday, October 19, 1819)

Married, in Bordeaux, on the 1st July last, Mr. E. B. Fayolle, of this city, to Mrs. Maria Desiree Denoreaux of said city. (Thursday, October 21, 1819)

Departed this life, on the 14th inst. after a few days illness, Mr. James Morrison, aged 58 years, a native of Hull, in Argyleshire, Scotland, and for many years a respectable inhabitant of this place. He was an affectionate husband, a tender parent, and an indulgent master. . . . (Thursday, October 21, 1819)

Died, at the Bay of St. John, Lieut. Isaac C. Craig, fourth son of Major Jonas Craig. He was killed in a duel with another officer of the Army. (Thursday, October 21, 1819)

Died, at Fort Hawkins, some time since, Captain C. Keizer, of the U. S. Army. (Thursday, October 21, 1819)

Married on Tuesday evening last [torn] Symes, William McDow, Esq to [torn] B. Somers, both of this city. (Friday, October 22, 1819)

Died, in Savannah, on the 15th inst. Mr. George Alsop, of the fever, incident to the climate. (Thursday, October 22, 1819)

Died, in Savannah, on the 17th inst. after a sickness of 10 days Mr.

Gustavus A. Bolles, of that city, shop-keeper, formerly of Woodstock, in Connecticut, aged about 44 years. . . . (Friday, October 22, 1819)

Died, at Barsden's Bluff, M'Intosh County, (Ga.) on the 10th inst. after a painful illness, in the 6th year of her age, Mary Elizabeth M'Whir Gignilliat, daughter of Henry Gignilliat, Esq. (Friday, October 22, 1819)

Married, at Wilmington, N. C. on the 10th inst. by the Rev. J. Jennet, the Rev. William M. Kennedy, Stationed Preacher of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that town, to Miss Ann Jones. (Saturday, October 23, 1819)

Died, on the 27th instant, at Pineville, aged 17 years, Miss Mary Elizabeth Weare, the last surviving daughter of Captain James Grey Weare and Mrs. Eliza Weare, of St. John's Parish, Berkley. (Saturday, October 23, 1819)

Died, at New Orleans, on the 18th September, Mr. Louis Joseph D'Anteroche, Printer, employed at the Office of the Courier. Mr. D'Anteroche was a native of New York, and son of Count D'Anteroche, who came to America at the time of the Revolutionary War, and has ever since been established in the United States. (Saturday, October 23, 1819)

Married, at Georgetown, on Sunday evening, the 17th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Hill, Mr. Thomas G. Finckley, to Miss Tabettha Ann Stewart, of Blackmingo. (Monday, October 25, 1819)

Died, at Georgetown, on Thursday last, after a lingering illness of some months, Miss Sarah Cock, in the 14th year of her age. (Monday, October 25, 1819)

Died, on the 13th inst. at his late residence on Black River, Sumpter District, of the prevailing fever, Captain Isaac Bagnal, greatly lamented by a number of relatives and friends. (Monday, October 25, 1819)

Died, on Thursday, the 14th inst. at his residence on Black River, Sumpter District, of the country fever, Mr. Samuel Montgomery. He has left behind him an aged and disconsolate widow, and several children, to lament their loss. (Monday, October 25, 1819)

Died, at Griswold (Conn.) on the 4th instant Mr. Abiel Benjamin, aged 104 years. (Monday, October 25, 1819)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mrs. Susanna Cochran, are requested to attend her Funeral from her late residence, No. 7 George street, This Morning, at 8 o'clock. (Monday, October 25, 1819)

The Friends and Acquaintances of Mr. George T. Spears, are invited to attend his Funeral from his late residence, No. 28 East-Bay-street, This Morning, at 9 o'clock. (Monday, October 25, 1819)

Married, on the 16th inst. in Norfolk, by the Rev. Mr. Law, Lieutenant Wm. Jameson, of the U. S. Navy, to Miss Catherine M. Rose eldest daughter of Mrs. Mary Rose, of that Borough. (Tuesday, October 26, 1819)

Among the valuable men of which we have been deprived by death during the last summer, we have to undergo the painful task of announcing that of Col. John D. Burgess, of Williamsburg District. This excellent man fell a victim to that devouring malady, to which the part of the country in which he lived was peculiarly subject for a series of years past. He has been cut off in the bloom of manhood. . . . (Wednesday, October 27, 1819)

Died, on Tuesday, the 19th of October, of the prevailing fever, Master George Clinton Cregier, a native of New York, aged 16 years and 6 months. . . . (Wednesday, October 27, 1819)

Died, at Georgetown, on Thursday last, after a lingering illness of some months, Mrs. Sarah Cock, in the 44th year of her age. (The above was incorrectly printed on Monday last.) (Wednesday, October 27, 1819)

Died, on the 7th September, at Jackson, Alabama Territory, Samuel B. Bidgood, of the house of Walton & Bidgood, merchants of that place, in the 58th year of his age, with a combination of the dysentery and typhus fever. (Wednesday, October 27, 1819)

Married, at North Inlet, near Georgetown, S. C. on the 24th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Fraser, Mr. Francis P. Rolando, to Miss Mary Provau, both of this city. (Friday, October 29, 1819)

Died, in St. Bartholomews Parish, on the 20th inst. Mr. John Jones, after a painful illness of 13 days. . . . Mr. Jones was a native of Charleston, supposed to be 24 or 25 years of age. It is understood that he left a brother or brothers. . . . (Friday, October 29, 1819)

We have seldom been so often called upon, as during this melancholy season, to record the death of many of our best Citizens. . . . To the sad number we have now the regret of adding Mr. George T. Spears, of the house of Dart & Spears, of this city, who died of a nervous fever . . . on Saturday, the 23rd inst. in the 27th year of his age. . . . (Friday, October 29, 1819)

Among the many valuable members of society, who have been called from this transitory abode, in this melancholy season, the painful task devolves on us to add that of Robert A. Darby, Esq., who died Sunday, the 24th inst. after a short illness, in the 43d year of his age, at his residence, on Harleston Green. . . . his amiable consort has been deprived of an affectionate husband, his children of a kind and tender father, . . . (Saturday October 30, 1819)

(To be continued)

THE MEMOIRS OF FREDERICK ADOLPHUS PORCHER

Edited by SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY

(Continued from July)

CHAPTER X

ABROAD

The October [1832] elections came on whilst I was in the upper country and I was re-elected to the House of Representatives. Mr. Cain declining a re-election my colleague was William A. Carson Esq. of Dean Hall, Cooper River. Mr. Carson was eight or ten years my senior. At that time he appeared, and I really believe he was an excellent specimen of a Carolina Country gentleman. His father had acquired a large fortune in Charleston by merchandize, and it had been his ambition to become a country gentleman. A short time before his death he purchased the Nesbit estate, Dean Hall on Cooper River, just below the junction of the east and west branch, and erected on it a substantial, but unpretending, brick mansion. He had educated his son well, having sent him to Cambridge [Harvard], and the latter carried into the country with him a mind well stored, not only with literature, but a curiosity governed by intelligence respecting all matters connected with the calling which he had adopted. Perhaps this curiosity may have had bad results. Possessed of large wealth, he spent it liberally in putting up all sorts of improvements on his estate, more, I thought, than could be profitable, and it is probable that they in some measure caused the embarrassments by which the latter part of his life was clouded. He was at this time a single man, and appeared contented with his situation. Had he married happily more early in life, his career might have been happier and more prosperous.¹

I had not more than a month to spend at home when it became necessary to return to Columbia to resume my legislative duties. In respect to committees I was more fortunate than I had been in the last legislature. Mr. Pinckney was Mr. Drayton's successor in Congress, and Mr. Patrick Noble of Abbeville was elected speaker. My acquaintance with Mr. Noble was very slight, but I liked him, and he seemed to take a fancy to me. I do not know whether there was any difference between Carson's poll and mine, but as the senior member my name stood first on the roll, and I looked forward of course to a seat in the Committee of Privileges

¹ After the death of his father, William A. Carson (1800-1856) bought Dean Hall, and later built the house there. He married in 1841 Caroline Petigru (1820-1892). At Harvard Carson was one of the then numerous members of Porcellian from this part of the country.

and Elections. At that time by old custom this committee consisted of a delegate from every election district who stood first on the roll, and the delegate from Charleston was always the Chairman. Of course it was an unwieldy body and if it had any business to do it was necessary to refer it to a sub-committee. I listened as before with interest to the reading of the house committees; as I expected I was on the Committee of Privileges and Elections, but I could scarcely believe my ears when I heard it called on the Committee of Ways and Means. I think it was on some other Committee, and at last I heard it first called on the Committee on Vacant Offices, rather an arduous committee by the way. All this was highly gratifying, my vanity was quite gratified and I could not but regard with complacency our amiable speaker who had discovered so much merit in me. The Committee of Privileges etc. had an important contested election case to decide, which gave occasion to some angry disputes, but which I then thought, and still think was justly decided both by the Committee and the Legislature.

Some disappointed Unionists in Georgetown carried to a poll called Small Hopes on Carvers Bay, so large a body of illegal voters, that the managers made no special return, but merely reported the facts, with the state of the polls. In consequence, six gentlemen, three of each party, appeared as the members elect. If the Carver's Bay Poll was received, the three Union men had been elected; if rejected, then the others. The rule in all contested elections was to reduce the poll of the candidate having the highest number of votes by the number of illegal votes cast, and if this reduction placed him below his opponent, to refer the matter back to the people by ordering a new election. This rule is founded upon the impossibility of determining for whom the bad votes were given. But there was no difficulty here; every vote at this poll had been given for the same men, and it was a matter of common sense that every bad, or illegal, vote polled there should be taken from them; and yet this plain argument of common sense found opponents, and notwithstanding the glaring fact that these gentlemen were in a minority when legal votes had been taken, they insisted upon a new election. But the principle of common sense prevailed and Messrs Coachman, Cohen and Belin took their seats. This measure received my assent then, and I can see no reason for disapproving of it now.

The only measure of politics that was before us was the amendment incorporating the oath of allegiance into the Constitution. There could really be no objection to the adoption of the Bill, which was now to be passed a second time, but it was opposed by the Union party. However, as it was sincerely desired to heal all animosities that had grown out of the late contest, a report was passed by the majority, not explaining away the oath, but full of kind feeling to the other party. When this report was

submitted the Union men did not vote, but as soon as it appeared to receive the unanimous vote of the other party they came forward very cordially to accept the right hand of fellowship which had been tendered to them and thus ended the distinction between the Nullification and the Union parties.

I was always an interested member of the Committee of Ways and Means, learning there a great deal about the finances of the State. As president of the Bank [of the State of South Carolina] Judge Colcock² was always invited to be present. I have frequently heard him spoken of as a wily politician and an unscrupulous man, but I do not believe the accusation was well founded. A part of his conduct annoyed me seriously, and if it was the result of design it was effective; as the Judge was there to give us information, we had of course a right to apply to him for it, and I occasionally availed myself of this right, whenever I did so, he would rise from his seat, and stand whilst of course, I sat at the table. I would vainly entreat him to keep his seat, but he never would. In years, position, and public estimation he was my superior and I felt as if I were outraging decency thus to keep him on his feet, and after a few trials gave up applying to him. If his intention was to put a stop to enquiries he succeeded completely, but I know of no cause that existed why he should desire to smother it.

Governor Hayne's term of service being now up Mr. McDuffie was elected his successor and in December took the oaths of office. I do not remember that his inaugural contained anything striking. It was I think in one of his messages that he extolled slavery as the basis on which Republican Institutions are most securely constructed; and I am by no means sure that he was not right. Mr. McDuffie was a favourite son of South Carolina, but I think his admirers over-rated him greatly. His strength lay in his oratory and his oratory was always of the vehement order. If a wrong was to be redressed, or an outrage punished, or an enemy denounced, no one could surpass him in eloquence. But that he could take a calm and unimpassioned view of a question I do not believe. I do not know when he entered the career of public life; he was a prominent member of Congress when I was a boy and was always regarded as the exponent of Mr. Calhoun. I believe he succeeded Mr. Calhoun as Representative, when the latter was transferred to Mr. Monroe's Cabinet. In the early part of his career he was an ardent opposer of the doctrine of States Rights, which was much in vogue in Virginia and Georgia. In fact the impetuosity of his temper involved him in a duel with Colonel Cumming of Georgia, in which he received a wound from which he is said to have suffered all of

² Charles Jones Colcock, for whose career see O'Neill's *Bench and Bar of South Carolina*.

his life. In 1824 at the presidential election, General Jackson received a plurality but not a majority of votes, and the House of Representatives determined it by giving Mr. Adams thirteen votes out of twenty-four; as this was clearly disregarding what may be considered the popular will, an effort was made to amend the Constitution in such a way as to prevent the recurrence of a similar violation of a public trust. Mr. McDuffie supported with all his powers this party demonstration. It is unwise to amend a constitution because a party is disappointed. The rapid progress of the protective system aroused all his powers of oratory and the heinous oppressiveness of the tariff, and the blighting effects of its operations upon the South [were] the staple of which his most eloquent, or perhaps I should rather say, his most vehement orations are composed. His too was the celebrated "Forty Bale Theory" as it was called, a theory that as the protective system was a measure to foster the manufacturing interest by clogging trade, its impositions must necessarily fall upon the planting states; and as the average amount of protection was equivalent to a tax of two fifths of the actual value of all imports, or forty *per ct. valorem*, it was equivalent to the same tax upon agricultural industry which was given in exchange for these imports. Hence every planter who made one hundred bales of cotton actually paid forty bales for the protection of manufacturing industry. There is more truth in this doctrine than his opponents conceived, though certainly not so much as the author believed.

Mr. McDuffie was always a supporter of the Bank of the United States, and though he was warmly in favour of resistance to the tariff laws, I have heard it said that he never heartily sanctioned the doctrine of State's Rights. Always possessed of one leading thought he now devoted his whole soul to military affairs, and we had the prospect of seeing the State converted into a camp for the next two years. He was an eminently unsocial man, who seemed always wrapped up in his own thoughts. After he left public life he retired to his plantation and applied all his powers to the making of money, in which it is said, he was very successful. He died an imbecile.

I think it was this session that Claudian B. Northrop made his appearance. He represented young Charleston and was generally regarded as extremely promising. He was a striking example of a very clever man spoiled by being pushed forward too early in life. He was excessively vain, he liked to be a party in duels, wished to be considered as a judge in points of honor, and at the same time desired to wear the laurels of genius. He made a mistake in making a long and very unnecessary speech in favour of the Constitutional Amendment. But his manners were pleasant and people generally liked him, pardoned his little outbursts of vanity. Unfortunately for his reputation he desired to be thought more highly of than

he deserved and the consequence was that when he demonstrated that he had over-rated the loftiness of his character, he sank much lower than he merited.

This session was decidedly more agreeable than the two former had been. In the first place I was not constantly tormented with thoughts of home; and as I had a plenty of committee business I began to feel and imagine that I was of some importance. But towards Christmas as usual our steps were turned homewards.

I was now ready to begin what I had been fondly anticipating and preparing a year before, a dwelling house at Somerton. All the inside work, such as doors, windows etc. had been taken by a Charleston Carpenter in the summer to be executed there, and in January the foundation was laid and the house commenced. The Carpenter proved a drunken dog and I ought to have dismissed him, but did not. I was unfortunately under contract not for day's work, but for the job, and it would have been a troublesome matter to get rid of him. I did not live at Somerton, but was obliged to go there often and spend the night in order to keep him in order. A few years before when Mr. Cain was building his house at Somerset, he had the lime at Somerton examined by Mr. Thomas Gaillard with a view to using it in the building of his chimneys and Mr. Gaillard dissuaded him from it. I determined to give it a trial, and therefore had a quantity burned with my bricks, and found it to answer not only for my chimneys but for all my plastering. I took comparatively little pleasure in building now and several apartments that I had determined to be handsome, I now had finished very plainly.³

I had not long returned home when my mother was attacked with a stroke of paralysis which resulted several months afterwards in her death. She had never recovered entirely from the attack which she had in 1829. Her speech was somewhat affected, and at times a singular inability to give utterance to the right word; but her health was good, and she enjoyed social visiting. She had been dining out one day, and about tea time complained of feeling rather uncomfortable. A box of pills was always at hand one of which she took when labouring under any uneasiness. I suggested that she should take one, got the box and handed her a pill. She took it and dropped it without being aware of what had happened, in less than a minute I saw that a fit was coming over her, had her carried to her room and sent directly for Dr. Waring. By the time he arrived she was almost speechless, but not unconscious, nor did she ever lose either; but she sank rapidly and I apprehended that she would not live many days, so my brother was sent for in Charleston. But after sinking to a certain

³ For photographs of this house at Summerton taken shortly before it was burned, see *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*.

condition the disease seemed to be arrested and her case was that of a settled bed-ridden patient, very quiet, very patient and very mild. She had been an uncommonly large woman, but now she was so much reduced that I frequently took her up and carried her from one part of the house to another. It is astonishing how soon we get accustomed to any state of things. In the course of a few weeks this seemed to be her normal condition and business went on as usual.

In the spring I went to a grand Brigade encampment. This was one of the fruits of Gen. McDuffie's administration. All the officers of the Brigade (Hamiltons) were ordered to appear at Woodstock (Bee's plantation on the S[outh] C[arolina] R[ail] R[oad]) where they would find tents for their accommodation, and where they would be instructed for a week in the military art. The Brigade consisted of the two Charleston regiments, 16th and 17th, Schneirlie's and Edwards; the 18th, Brisbane's; and ours, the 19th, McKelvie's. This was the first encampment to be held under the new law. I and most of the officers of our regiment went the day before the encampment was to begin, and took up our quarters at the house kept under Hamilton's directions by a coloured man named Wall. The success of the encampment was a subject of speculation, for many officers had declared that the expense of the encampment would be greater than the penalty imposed for non-attendance, and therefore they would stay away. Gov. McDuffie was with us but gloomy and unsocial, he never joined in the conversation, though he was evidently a listener.

At this camp the officers below the rank of Major all had to bear muskets, and were drilled as privates, the superior officers filling the post of sub-alterns. It was a very pleasant time. There was an immense deal of frolicking going on, and though we were cruelly drilled, it was after all more of a social gathering than of a military school. The governor was gloomy, sad and provoked at the small attendance of officers, and in an after dinner speech, had the bad taste to reproach us for their non-attendance.

One night after a great deal of fatigue, I found myself bleeding from the lungs; so I left the camp and went to the house where I got a bed. It was not a profuse hemorrhage and I called in no one, got a lump of salt, and sucked it, determined not to submit to the discipline of bleeding. The hemorrhage was slight, but it left me with a cough, and a feeling of malaise that I thought quite unfavourable, and I determined to sail across the Atlantic early in the Summer and visit France. Several persons advised me to make a longer stay and take a more extended tour. My views were confined to a summer's absence; but—I do not mind confessing now—I doubted whether I could be spared so long from the country. Not that my business required my presence, I had discernment enough to know

that a good overseer would do better without me, but I thought the country could not well dispense with my services. Lord, how full of vanity a countryman's head becomes, when he sees but little company and that only of one class!

I did not return to camp, but remained at Woodstock until it broke up and then returned home in company with the officers of our regiment. I remember that most of them stopped and dined with me at Somerton.

As Pineville had now become decidedly sickly it was determined to spend the summer in town and a house was accordingly hired for the family. But to get our invalid mother a journey of forty-five miles was a serious matter. Hearing that a Steam boat was expected to come up Cooper River on a certain day, we took her the day before to Mrs. Broughton's, at Mulberry, where we spent the night. But our information was erroneous; so the next day we resumed our journey intending to avail ourselves of the rail-cars at Woodstock. On arriving there I had her conveyed to a chamber where she was quite comfortable and thought of waiting for the train the next day. It happened however that the train was very late that evening and as it passed down my mother was so very unpleasantly excited by the noise it made, that she sent for me and told me that she could not think of travelling in it. She had never, I believe, seen a railway train. So the next morning we made our last stage, and she reached her house in town with more comfort than I had ventured to hope. After seeing her comfortably settled and beginning to feel at home, I set to work to make my arrangements for my departure.

I think it was the night before I left, that a fire broke out in Meeting St which was the greatest ever before known in Charleston, but which is completely forgotten in consequence of the great fire of 1838 which occurred nearly three years afterward. It was on one of the first nights of June 1835 that this fire occurred, it consumed all the houses which occupied the space now filled by the Charleston Hotel, Hayne Street, and all that side of Meeting street west of these localities. I think it was the next day I left for New York; I left my mother in comfortable circumstances, and never saw her again.

I went to New York in one of the steam vessels. John Lewis Gervais was desirous of going to Paris to complete his medical education, and we agreed to travel together; it was of course much more agreeable to have a companion. It was a long time since I had been at sea and I soon became sick. I now had an opportunity of witnessing the force of imagination upon myself. I had been sick about two days, and was suffering all the terrible discomfort of qualmishness, when I heard a gentleman congratulate another upon his recovery; the other said that he had been very sick, but he had been tempted by the appearance of some roasted goose to try

and eat a piece of it, and that he had instantly recovered. Though the idea of food was loathsome to me, this notion of the efficacy of roast goose as a remedial agent worked strongly upon my imagination. It was about two hours to dinner time, and I lived in trembling hope and fear—the fear was that there might be no roast goose for dinner, I had no doubt of its efficacy. At last the dinner bell rang, and I went to the dining room, I was too sick to venture to the table where I knew that I would be offended by the sight of food. I sat apart and eagerly asked a waiter to bring me a piece of roast goose. It was brought, I ate it heartily, and was now perfectly well. Had there been no goose for dinner that day, I would have continued ill until perhaps our arrival in New York. In New York I had to make my money arrangements which however were facilitated by letters from Pitray and Viel. Here I met my old classmate Telfair, and he took me to see our classmate Downes, who, though he had occupied a very humble place in the class, was now the pastor of a very considerable Presbyterian church in New York. I dined with Downes one Sunday. According to the old puritan custom the dinner was cold. It was a considerable change from the sumptuous dinners which were served at the American Hotel.

In my chapter on Yale College I mentioned my classmate David Bartlett, and my agency in fixing him as one of the permanent instructors of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum. I determined to visit him, and Gervais went with me at my suggestion that he would have an excellent opportunity of visiting such an Institution. We went to the asylum and I was received with the greatest affection by Bartlett, and had the unexpected pleasure of finding Barnard there who was also a teacher. The warmth of their manner made a deep impression on Gervais. He had a strong prejudice against all yankees and did not suppose it possible for them to exhibit such a heartfelt regard for an old associate.

We sailed for Havre on the packet ship *Poland*, commanded by Captain Anthony. This was a temperance ship, that is, no spirits were to be had on board, though they might be had from the medicine chest; but wine flowed like water over the cabin; the passengers could call for any kind at discretion. Among the passengers were Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Middleton, and Mr. Henry Middleton of South Carolina, and Dr. W. Wilkins and wife of North Carolina. We had a very pleasant voyage, and spent the fourth of July in sight of the French Coast; the next morning we were in the Havre docks.

[From Havre Porcher went to Paris, and was disappointed on the way to find the cathedral of Rouen not so much to his taste as St. Michael's, Charleston. His taste seems, however, to have grown greatly with experience. But there is too much of the guide-book to justify printing at

length the account of his stay in Paris from midsummer to December and of his journeys in Italy, in England and in Scotland. He joined forces with Robert Gourdin, of Charleston, in Paris, and they picked up [John?] Izard Middleton in England. Thence the trio went by way of Belgium, the Rhine and Strasbourg, to Paris.]

Returning now to Paris, I was fairly on my way home; and all that remained was to determine which packet should be preferred. Gourdin's prejudices being strongly English, he was determined to return by way of Liverpool. I was uncertain, with a strong feeling in favour of Havre. Accident made me decide in favour of that line of packets.

About the same time that I reached Paris Mrs. McBride⁴ having come in pursuit of health for her daughter Elizabeth, fears were entertained that her lungs were seriously threatened and the foolish physician whom they had consulted, had been earnest in charging her by no means to expose herself to the bleak winds of England; it was therefore necessary that they should return by way of Havre, and as it seemed to please them to look forward to having me as their guardian on the journey I was pleased to accept the arrangement.

I have used the expression "foolish physician" designedly; these gentlemen undertake to give advice respecting climates and places, without any knowledge whatsoever. When one is to be seriously injured by a brief sojourn in any place, (of course I have no reference now to the risk of fever from exposure in malarious districts) he must be already beyond hope. Doubtless a person with a tendency to consumption may and will find that he will breathe more easily in one place than in another, but surely he may be permitted to roam about and be supposed to have common sense enough to induce him to leave a place where he finds himself uncomfortable and seek another, better suited to his wants and requirements. To prescribe a residence for an invalid is as unwise as to prescribe a diet; the patient's experience will be his best guide in both matters. Unfortunately, however, when a person is so far gone as to consult a physician about either, he has lost his common sense, and he too frequently persists in obeying such prescriptions where common sense would earnestly urge him to disobey. I had known Mrs. McBride from my infancy, with her daughter I was not acquainted. I had seen her, but under circumstances that did not permit me to observe her particularly. She was fascinating and beautiful and it was very pleasant to be with her, to accompany her everywhere about the city, and to see the admiration which her beauty elicited whenever she appeared at any place of public resort. I think it was in September that we bade adieu to Paris, and went to Havre to embark for New York.

⁴ This was Ellinor Gourdin, wife of James L. McBride, M.D., the Charleston botanist. Their daughter Elizabeth married in 1847 a Mr. Wallop of Canada.

Our ship was the Packet Ship *France*, Captain Funk master. Among passengers were Mr. and Mrs. Smith, the latter Mrs. McBride's daughter; they had been the greater part of the summer in Manchester, and had come to Havre, I suppose, for the purpose of joining her mother. There were also Mr. & Mrs. Robert William Roper⁵ of Charleston, and Mr. Lefebure, a Belgian gentlemen who was a Charleston merchant. We were detained by contrary winds about a week at Havre and at last moved out of the dock. Just before our ship was the Hudson, bound for Charleston via New York. We kept her in sight all day but lost her in the night; nor did we see her again during the voyage.

The voyage was a long one, for twenty-three days we were beating about the channel; head winds and storms were of daily and nightly occurrence; at last we got into the open sea, and then in three weeks we crossed over. Of course the passengers had ample time and opportunity of making each other's acquaintance. Frederick Smith was an Englishman of a mercantile family in Manchester. He went to Charleston on business, where he was induced to remain, I believe on account of his health, became a partner of Henry Gourdin and by this connection was introduced to Mrs. McBride's family. He married Henrietta, the eldest daughter. He was a well educated man, of large intelligence and when he became acquainted, easy in conversation and very agreeable. He was the most absent [minded] man I ever saw, and by no means quick at taking a joke; he was a very honest; upright, god-fearing gentleman. His wife was a very shy retiring woman, full of hysteric fears and fancies, and scarcely fit to assume the responsibility of rearing a family. Knowing this, Smith committed the government of his children to their nurse.

Mr. Roper I had known but slightly at home, his wife not at all. He was a rich planter of St. Johns, and a man of fortune without children. He was a very intelligent man and had improved himself by much reading; somehow, he never received credit for as much intelligence as he really possessed. He was very companionable and very aimiable, rather fond of making a parade of his learning, and this caused many to laugh at him and as they laughed others believed that he was really deficient, when in fact his only deficiency was in tact, in knowing when to produce it and when to keep it in the background. He was vain, as most of us are and this vanity sometimes brought him into ridicule. A funny case occurred a few years afterwards. He had delivered, by invitation, an oration on Sullivan's Island on the 28th of June. The day after some ladies called on Mrs. Roper, and complimenting him upon his performance expressed their regret that they had not been able to hear it. He told them that they

⁵ Thomas William Roper owned Point Comfort on Cooper River, and built the fine house that is now No. 9 East Bay.

should not have to bear any regret, got the oration and read it to them. As a member of the Legislature he earnestly advocated and succeeded in carrying the Resolution for a Geological Survey of the State, which was commenced by Mr. Ruffin and completed by Mr. Tuomey. It was after this that he was left out of the list of names presented for the acceptance of the people as a member of the Legislature. It mortified him greatly though he might have been soothed by the concern manifested by his friends on the occasion. He was not what can be called a popular man; for though very companionable and very amiable his manners had a something about them which at first appeared repulsive. He was charged with being parsimonious. All the wealthy men who do not spend money lavishly are charged with this vice. He was certainly a prudent man, and by no means as wealthy as the world supposed, for his father had strictly entailed his estate, and as he had no children, he very naturally desired to have something of his own which he might leave to his wife. But he was certainly fond of petty savings, which gave him the appearance of parsimoniousness. I have seen an entertainment which cost him several hundred dollars, go off rather badly because he was unwilling to spend ten or fifteen additional in order to have everything in keeping. He died of Country fever in 1842 or 44; his wife was Patsy [Martha Rutledge] Laurens; the tenderest attachment existed between them. After his death his father's property went to establish the Roper Hospital. He left his wife all that he could leave her. She died in 1868. The acquaintance and friendship thus formed on board of the *France* continued to the end of their lives; I felt when he died that I had lost a valued friend.

Notwithstanding the length of our passage, we had a very pleasant time; harmony and good will prevailed amongst us. On the forty-fifth day of our passage, we entered the Narrows, and one of the first ships that we saw was the *Hudson*, which had left the Havre dock just before us; we had never seen her during our long passage. In the evening we landed at New York, and I learned that the Cholera had been raging in Charleston. In the next steamer that sailed for Charleston we took our passage, and late in November I retouched my native land after an absence of nearly eighteen months.

(To be continued)

THE ST. THOMAS HUNTING CLUB, 1785-1801

Contributed by J. H. EASTERBY

(Continued from July)

Club House (27th. February 1796)¹

Club Race

Mr. Bryans Silvertail Mr. Harlestons Miss Spindleshanks & Mr. Pinckneys Fairy matched to run at Strawberry, with catches, the day before the Races in 1797 to start at Twelve o'clock, Mile Heats for a Treat for the St Thomas's hunting Club, the losers to pay [illegible].

Mr. E. Rutledge bets Mr. Harleston a suit of Cloaths Fairy against Silvertail.

Mr. D. Lesesne bets Mr. Bryan a Hat & Mr. N. Harleston a pr Boots Fairy against Silvertail.

Mr. R. Pinckney bets Mr. N. Harleston Fairy against Silvertail & Miss Spindleshanks Five Pounds separate bets on each.

Mr. E. Rutledge bets Major Edwards the same bet that Mr. Pinckney bets Mr. N. Harleston.

The treat to be provided that day fourtright on which the Race is run.

Mr. P's bet with Mr. H.

Fairy	} £5	Fairy	} £5
vs		vs	
Silvertail		Miss Spindleshanks	

Club House (19 March 1796)

Mr. P. Lesesne bets Mr. S. Deas a pr Boots Miss Spindleshanks against Fairy.

Club House (August 20th. 1796)²

The deer killed this year by Mr. Roger Smith a Visitor.

Deer Killed this year: Mr. Roger Smith—2.

Club House 19th. Augt. 1797³

Deer killed this year

Mr. J. Ball 4

Mr. N. Harleston 2

Mr. R. Pickney 1

7⁴

¹ The minutes of November and December, 1795, are missing.

² The minutes of June, 1796, are missing.

³ The minutes of December, 1796, are missing.

⁴ The minutes of the meetings following that of May 19, 1798, are missing.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS⁵

	Date of Admission	Date of Resignation
<i>Ashby, John</i>		February 23, 1793 ⁶
<i>Ashby, Thomas</i>		
<i>Ball, Elias</i>		
<i>Ball, John</i>		
Bonhost, Jacob ⁷	November, 16, 1786	
Brown, Archibald ⁸		
<i>Bryan, John</i>		
Deas, Seaman	April 18, 1795	
Doux saint, William	July 21, 1787	
Edwards, Isaac	January 16, 1796	
Edwards, Major ⁸		
Findlay, Dr.	May 20, 1786	February 15, 1787 ⁶
Garden, Dr. Alexander ⁸		January 20, 1798 ⁶
Gourdin, Samuel	June 21, 1794	
<i>Harleston, Isaac</i>		
<i>Harleston, John</i> ⁹		
Harleston, Nicholas ⁸		
<i>Hasell, Andrew</i> ⁷		
<i>I'On, Jacob B.</i>		
Karwon, Thomas ¹⁰	November 16, 1786	November 17, 1787
Lesesne, Daniel ⁸		
Lesesne, Peter	July 18, 1795	
Lesesne, Thomas	May 19, 1798	
<i>McCormick, Dr. Samuel</i>		
Pickens, [Ezekiel?]	July 18, 1795	
<i>Pinckney, Hopson</i>		
Pinckney, Roger	March 16, 1793	
<i>Quash, Robert</i>		
Randall, John B.	June 21, 1788	June 16, 1792
Rose, Hugh	February 18, 1786	
Rutledge, Edward, Jr.	March 21, 1795	
Scott, William ⁷	January 19, 1788	

⁵ The names in italics are those of the original members. Of those members who had not resigned prior to the last recorded meeting (May 19, 1798) the following had not attended for several months: Brown, Douxsaint, Gourdin, I'On, Hopson Pinckney, and Edward Thomas.

⁶ Change of residence was given as the reason for resignation.

⁷ The name does not appear among those of members attending after the December meeting of 1791.

⁸ Admitted between August 16, 1788, and January 21, 1792.

⁹ Died September 14, 1793.

¹⁰ A Mr. Karwon was admitted on December 16, 1797.

	Date of Admission	Date of Resignation
<i>Simons, Benjamin</i>		July 21, 1787
<i>Smyth, James¹</i>		
<i>Thomas, Edward</i>		
Wigfall, Joseph	July 20, 1786	January 18, 1794
Wigfall, Samuel	May 17, 1788	August 19, 1797
Wigfall, Thomas	January 21, 1792	

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF VISITORS¹¹

Air, Charles	Connor, Rev.
Air, George	Cooper, Mr.
Alston, Mr.	Corbett, T., Jr.
Ancrum, Mr.	Cordes, Thomas
Anderson, Mr.	Cote, Mr.
Arthur, Mr.	Craig, Dr.
Ashby, John	Crawford, Mr.
Baker, Samuel	Dart, Mr.
Baldwin, Dr.	Dearington, Thomas
Ball, J. C.	Deas, C.
Beckman, Mr.	Deas, D.
Bee, Judge	Deas, H.
Bell, Joseph	Deas, James, Jr.
Blamy, Mr.	Deas [?], Ransom
Bochett, Mr.	Deas, Seaman
Bonhost, Jacob	Deas, William
Bonneau, Benjamin	DeJolinere [?], Monsieur
Bonneau, F.	Dickinson, Mr.
Bonneau, Henry	Doughty, William
Bonneau, S.	Drozier, Captain
Bourdeaux, Anthony	Dubois, P.
Bourdeaux, E.	Duff, Mr.
Bourgoin, William	Dupont, Monsieur
Bowen, Mr.	Dupree, Mr.
Broughton, J.	Edwards, E.
Broughton, P.	Edwards, Isaac
Broughton, Thomas	Edwards, Major
Burn, James	Elfe, G.
Callahan, Mr.	Fenwick, Mr.
Calhoun, Mr.	Findlay, Dr.
Cleland, Mr.	Fisher, Captain

¹¹ Each visitor's name has been entered once regardless of the number of times he was the guest of the Club.

Fogartie, Lewis
 Forster, Mr.
 Frajer, Monsieur
 Frost, Rev.
 Gaillard, John
 Gaillard, John, Jr.
 Gaillard, Theodore
 Gaillard, William
 Garden, Dr.
 Gordon, Mr.
 Gourdin, S.
 Graham, Captain
 Grant, Dr.
 Guerin, H.
 Harleston, Edward
 Harleston, Nicholas
 Harleston, Richard
 Harleston, William
 Hasell, A.
 Hasell, George
 Heatly, Mr.
 Hogg, Dr.
 Horry, Linch
 Hort, William
 Howe, Captain
 Howell, J.
 Irving, Jacob
 Karwon, T.
 Lamotte, Mr.
 Laurens, Henry, Jr.
 Legare, Samuel
 Lequeux, Sims
 Lesesne, Benjamin
 Lesesne, Daniel
 Lesesne, Peter
 Lesesne, T.
 Lord, Mr.
 Lowndes, T.
 Lucas, Mr.
 Martelle, Mr.
 Mathews, James
 Maybank, D.

Ma[y]rant, J.
 Mazyck, A.
 Metcalf, Mr.
 Miller, J. D.
 Miller, William
 Moore, Dr.
 Moore, J. E.
 Moultrie, Mr.
 Nesbit, Alexander
 Nesbit, Rev.
 Nesbit, Sir John
 Nicholson, J.
 Nowell, E.
 Noble, Mr.
 Peyre, F.
 Pickens, Andrew, Jr.
 Pickens, Mr.
 Pinckney, Roger
 Prince, Mr.
 Purcell, Mr.
 Quash, R.
 Randall, Captain
 Ravenel, P.
 Reese, Mr.
 Reid, Dr. William
 Richardson, Dr.
 Rose, Hugh
 Russ, B.
 Russell, Mr.
 Rutledge, E.
 Rutledge, Frederick
 Sample, Mr.
 Saunders, Roger P.
 Scott, Mr.
 Shaw, Mr.
 Shubrick, Thomas
 Simmons, Edward
 Simons, Robert
 Slade, Mr.
 Smith, B.
 Smith, Press

Smith, R., Jr.	Wakefield, Mr.
Smith, Roger	Ward, Captain
Smith, Thomas	Warree, Dr.
Smith, Rev. William	Warren, Captain
Smyth, Barkley	Watson, Mr.
Steward, Mr.	Weatherspoon, Dr.
Swinton, Mr.	Whitehouse, Mr.
Taylor, B.	Wigfall, John
Theus, Captain	Wigfall, Joseph
Thomas, J. H.	Wigfall, Levi
Thomas, Samuel	Wigfall, Samuel
Thomas, Thomas	Wigfall, Thomas
Thompson, Rev.	Williams, B. P.
Tunno, George	Wilson, John

(The end)

A PROVISIONAL GUIDE TO MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By HELEN G. MCCORMACK

(Continued from July)

In the preparation of this list, of which the following is the sixth installment, the accession record of the Society has been followed as far as possible in classifying the manuscripts and in numbering the resultant classes; hence Accession No. 1380, though it includes only one item, appears as a separate class, while Accession No. 1776, including as many as six items, is also a single class. Manuscripts not included in the accession record (because they were received prior to its commencement in 1902, or for other reasons) have been numbered arbitrarily. These numbers are preceded by the letters "Ac." Where a class consists of a single document, it is given a name descriptive of that document; to those consisting of a greater number the name of the person or family with whom their contents are chiefly concerned is assigned unless the donor has stipulated that another name be used. In the latter case the class is called a "collection"; otherwise the term "papers" is used. Both manuscripts owned by the Society and those on deposit are included. Manuscripts which are not open for general use are indicated as "restricted." No document as such may be printed without the permission of the Society.

Ac 134. ACCOUNT BOOK OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF FOR- FEITED ESTATES, 1782-1783, 1 volume

A record of the sales of land and goods authorized by the Confiscation Act passed, 26 February, 1782, by the General Assembly at Jacksonborough. The sales held at Jacksonborough, Pocotaligo, and Georgetown from May 15 to August 15, 1782 brought over a million pounds in currency to the State and the sale at Charlestown, June 16 to 18, 1783, brought 152,013 pounds sterling. Land was the chief commodity sold, but houses, livestock, plantation tools, household furniture, wharves, town lots, and even a church pew are listed. The names of all save three of the former proprietors of forfeited estates listed in the book are to be found on the lists of proscribed persons published with the Act. Over 160 purchasers are enumerated.

Limp leather binding, 36.8 cm. by 25.4 cm., unpagged.

Gift of T. Grange Simons, Charleston, S. C.

1380. A DISCUSSION OF THE MANNER OF ACQUIRING THE CHARACTER AND PRIVILEGES OF A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES, [1802], 1 item

A manuscript written in one hand, but with numerous additions and alterations in another. It is enclosed in a wrapper on the front of which the title appears in the hand of the alterations, apparently that of Doctor David Ramsay. On the back is written: "Dr David Ramsey in Dispute wh Mr Smith." The author differentiates between a citizen and a subject or an inhabitant and declares that the distinguishing privilege of citizenship is only to be acquired by 1) being a party to the original compact, the Declaration of Independence, 2) by taking an oath of fidelity to some one of the States, 3) by tacit consent, 4) by birth or inheritance, or 5) by adoption. Each of the means suggested is fully discussed.

Paper bound and in slip cover, 23.2 cm. by 19 cm., 14 pages.

Purchased from Forrest H. Sweet.

1594. TRAVEL JOURNAL OF RANDALL HUNT, 1832, 1 volume

A first volume of what the author entitles the "Journal of a Traveller from Charleston, So. Ca. to New Haven, Connecticut, A.D. 1832." His announced intention of making his journal a record of thoughts and reflections rather than a description of scenes and events is carried out by discussions on laughter, love, literature, criticism, religion and Nullification. Among the few experiences that he does include are a thirty-mile ride on the railroad out of Charleston, his return to South Carolina College where he had taken first honors in the graduating class of 1825, his meeting with a family of seven emigrating from Sumter District to Alabama with a capital of six dollars, the McFarlane Fair at Fayetteville, and his trip by water from Norfolk to Baltimore. The journal ends with his arrival in Philadelphia, and additional volumes which may once have existed are missing.

Board binding, 19.7 cm. by 16.5 cm., 79 pages.

Gift of Dr. Joseph Hume, New Orleans.

405. CRUISES OF THE S. S. *McClellan*, 1861-1864, 1 volume

The first five pages of the volume record the cruise of the S. S. *Atlantic* from New York to Pensacola and the rest the twenty-one cruises of the S. S. *McClellan*, a United States Army transport, of which Alfred G. Gray was commander. On five of her cruises the *McClellan* brought men and

supplies to South Carolina, calling at Hilton Head, Port Royal, Beaufort, and Seabrook's Landing. On the other cruises she went to Pensacola and the Florida Keys, to New Orleans and the Gulf ports, and to Fortress Monroe and the Potomac. Several naval actions are described. Letters and newspaper cuttings, pasted in, amplify the account. The record appears to be a copy of a ship's log rather than the log itself, for certain comments are more suggestive of retrospect than of reporting.

Board binding, 25.4 cm. by 20.4 cm., 240 pages.

Gift of Mrs. W. B. Frost, Charleston, S. C.

Ac 26. LETTERS OF "RUSTICUS," 1794, 4 items

Three of these letters are addressed to "Gentlemen," and two of them are written from St. Andrew's Parish, June 20 and August 7, 1794. They are concerned with possible danger to the community from Negroes brought into the state from Santo Domingo. The "Gentlemen" may have been a committee of citizens referred to in the *Columbian Herald*, September 8, 1794. The fourth item, not in the same handwriting as the "Rusticus" letters, but evidently contemporary with them, is a plea to do away with slavery. These letters have been attributed to Alexander Garden, Jr., author of *Anecdotes of the Revolution*.

Gift of Hugh R. Garden, Warrenton, Virginia.

1776. PLANTATION JOURNAL OF DANIEL CANNON WEBB, 1817-1850, 6 volumes

The journal begins with the purchase of Chatsworth and The Key, two plantations on the east bank of the Ashley River. The writer noted the times of planting, first bloom, and harvest, any circumstances of weather or pests which affected his crops of oats, peas, potatoes, corn, rice, and cotton. Apparently cotton was the money crop for there is no mention of the other produce being sold. The livestock is inventoried once each year. Overseers were usually in residence on the plantations. Each entry carries a comment upon the weather, prevailing winds, and, after July, 1840, thermometer readings. Unusual gales are described at some length, particularly those of 1822 and 1846. The health and welfare of the Negroes, the distribution each November of material for clothes and blankets (some of it woven on the plantation), the occasional measles and fevers, the annual vaccinations, and births and deaths were noted. Sometimes mention of a death brings forth a tribute to the character and service of the individual. When thirty-eight of the people from Chatsworth were

allowed to go to the plantation of Daniel Webb's son in another parish, the writer was much affected at the parting.

The Webbs lived on the plantations for only two months of the year, moving there for Christmas and the month of April. Life there is not described beyond mention of visits from friends and the Christmas festivities of 1829. The rest of the year they lived in Cannonsborough, with eighteen servants in attendance upon house and garden. It was regarded as a particularly healthful situation and the diarist never failed to note, when he described the yellow fever epidemics of certain years, that few if any deaths occurred in Cannonsborough. (This section, once largely owned by the writer's grandfather, Daniel Cannon, was situated west of Smith Street and north of Calhoun Street and was not at that time in the city limits of Charleston.)

Daniel Webb wrote frequently and affectionately of the members of his family, but rarely recorded public events. Among the few noted are General Lafayette's visit in 1825, the double July 4th celebration of rival parties during the Nullification agitation of 1831, and the great fire of 1838. In the early years of the journal trips were recorded separately in a volume now missing. Those of later years, especially the visit to Graniteville in 1849, which includes an inspection of the industrial development there, and the travels to the Virginia springs and the eastern cities in 1850 are more fully described.

Though it is not mentioned until his retirement in 1840, Daniel Webb, simultaneously with his planting, carried on a factorage business in the firm of North and Webb which he entered in 1805 and of which he was head at the time of his retirement. He was also a Director of the Bank of the State of South Carolina, a Commissioner of Roads, and a Commissioner of the Orphan House. He was active in the affairs of the Unitarian Church in Charleston and died in the Church in 1850.

Two volumes, board binding, 18 cm. by 16 cm.; four volumes, 40 cm. by 20 cm., paper bound, unpagged. Volume three of the series, 1833-1838, is missing.

Gift of Mrs. George E. Gibbon, Charleston, S. C.

(To be continued)

JOURNAL OF GENERAL PETER HORRY

(Continued from July)

[47] Tuesday 21st}¹ A fine Sun Shine Morning—I yesterday Received by Post a Letter from Cleland Kinloch. Blunt Senior & North & Web—Removed Cills—Billy & Carlos Sot off for Winyaw ab^t. 10 in the Morning—I rode with Martha Bay to Granby & to Pinckneys plant²—Saw two Large boats Coming up & I Suppose one has my Goods on board, tomorrow I mean to Send to Granby for them—I Got home to dinner, Roads very Wet even by the way of Gen^l. Hamptons,³ I resolv^d. never to Go again the River way—Visitors Sarah Bay, Ann Bay & Margaret Bay—{Wednesday 22.} Sun Shine but very Cold, Sent my Waggon to Granby for Paint Glass & Oil—Glazing Continued—[48] 1813 {22^d Wednesday Continued} Visitors today are Sarah & Margaret Bay, M^r. M^rIver—& Gab^rl: Guignard—{Thursday 23^d} Cloudy Morning Buddy, Cuggo & Isaac Sot out for Dover Plantatⁿ—Got a Hog from James Guignard Cost \$8.76 Cents w^t 146 had of M^r. Harrison 1 Quarter Beef—a Tongue & a Tripe—Visitors today M^r. Harrison, M^r. Ja^s Guignard Sarah Bay & M^{rs}. J Guignard & her Daughters—RCd from J. Guignard by his Waggon 3,000 Bricks Visitors at Night M^r Goddard, M^cGill, & M^rIver—{Friday 24th-.} Warm & Cloudy Morning wind S^e. W^t. P^d. for 25¹/₄ Bush^s. Corn at 2/8. is \$14, 25 C^{ts}. Visitors today are Sarah, Ann Martha & Marg^t. Bay. Taylor & Amus a Tripe of Harrison—W^m. Bay came to me, Got a Turn of Wood Prepared for Tomorrow—Saturday 25 Christmas day, Warm & Rain Morning, Guignard Jun^r. & Sons w^t. Miss Bays & [49] 1813 Christmas. day Continued & Several Colegians drank Egg Nog with, w^t. us. & 3 Miss Bays & Miss Emmer Taylor Breakfasted with us—Visitors are as follows—(a Drunken Party with a Drummer, Entered our House & Complemented us with Martial Musick, Hazzas &c^a. &c^a.) at Dinner 5 Ladies & 10 young men Dined with us. Toasts were Given & after Sun Set Pawn plays Ended Christmas when all Retired to their Respective homes. {Sunday 26th- Decem^r.} Cold but fair Sun Shine, Yesterday I received a Letter from Dan^l. G. Williams

¹ December, 1813.

² Former Governor Charles Pinckney owned a plantation on the north side of the Congaree Riwer about five miles below Columbia where he sometimes resided when serving as governor. He is not likely to have been living there at the time of this visit by General Horry as his last term as governor had ended in December, 1810, and he had returned to Charleston.

³ He had gone down the Bluff Road to Pinckney's and crossed over to the Garner's Ferry Road by way of General Wade Hampton's home, Woodlands.

(my former Overseer—) I went to Church & heard M^r Lance, & took Dinner w^h. M^{rs}. Bay & her Family Present Also M^r Lance, Williams & Porcher & at 3 O'Clock P.M. returned to my House M^{rs} Horry went to the Methodist Church both Morn^g & Evening [50] 1813—Monday 27th—Decem^r—} A very Rainey day, wind at South, I wrote a Letter to M^r. Williams & to M^{rs}—Cheesborow at GeorgeTown. Visitors today are—Sarah & Marg^t. Bay. Gabriel & Sanders Guignard {Tuesday 28th.} Warm & Cloudy wind at West, Sarah Bay Served out Allowances to Negroes Yesterday—Planted Pease in Garden—Sent Carriage for wood—Visitors today are M^{rs}. Davis & Miss Bays. & Ja^s Guignard Family I rode out to Wich^l & C^o. & bought Sundries as per Bill Parcels—

In the afternoon was Visited by Parson Green & his Wife & Parson Raspberry—{Wednesday 29th.} Warm & Clear, wind at South, Sent for wood & for my Goods at Columbia by Greens waggon. Lent him my Carriage Visitors. Sarah, Ann & Marg^t. Bay. Rec^d. my Goods Right—[51] 1813—Thursday—

{December 30} fine Sun Shine Morning, wind at N^o. W^t. . . Sent Waggon to M^r. Mulders plant^s. for Trees to Plant in our Garden. Got 21 Trees & Sot them out around Garden, the Inner Side of the bank—Puppies & Piggs Grows finely—Visitors today are as follows M^r.—Willie, M^r. J. Guignards family, M^r. Goddard & M^r. Bossard & Sarah & Margaret Bay—

{Friday 31st—} Sun Shine Morning & a white Frost & very Cold. I sot out the above Trees in my Garden—M^{rs}. Guignard Gave us 3 Muscovy Ducks—Drew an Order on Ja^s. S. Guignard in favour of B: Harrison for Amount of his Beef Bill to this Day Twelve Dollars—Visitors Sarah Bay & [Ms abruptly breaks off].

History or Daily Journal of the Life of the Late Brigadier Gen^l. Peter Horry. Commencing w^h. his 72 year, being this 13 day of March 1814—⁴ Sunday—fine Spring Weather warm Sun—Ann Chivers breakfasted w^h. us, I rode out & went to the Chapple and heard the Rev^d. M^r. Montgomery. —.—⁵

I dined with M^{rs}. Bays Family, M^{rs}. Guignard Visited M^{rs}. Horry & Ioor—also 2 Miss Warings & 2 Miss Hughes Monday—14th.} Fine Sun Shine Morning, Carpenters Laying boards in the Passage, wind at West, Zemo Gone to Trim Slabs at Wades Mill—Tinah Sick—Visitors today are as follows, Sarah Bay, who Paisted my fire Scrine over again with New Paper. Doctor Hughes Visited us today—M^{rs}. Ioor Removed into New House a Shed Chamber, Cleared out Room below,

⁴ His tombstone says he was about 67 when he died in 1815.

⁵ Rev. Dr. Benjamin R. Montgomery, Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at the South Carolina College, 1811–1818.

took up its hearth, flooring below & up Stairs, & took down the Stairs, w^h. Lead to the upper flooring—[Page 2]

1814 March 14th. Continued} before night it Grew very warm. & Cloudy, after night M^r. McIver's Visited me (Tuesday 15) Much Rain fell Last night & Continues this morning, warm & Cloudy, Isaac finishing flooring Passage—taking fether Edge from Wash Room—Visitors Doctor Hughs . . . Sarah Bay, Ja^s S. Guignard & his Wife a Heavy Storm came on. blew down p^r. Saches & Several Pannells fence in our Garden—Mary fields fell from up Stairs into the Celler & hurted herself—Storm Continued about an hour & Ended about 2 OClock P: M:—

Paid for Mending my Clock—& for a Goose 50 C^{ts}. & for Fish 50 C^{ts} {Wednesday 16th } Cold & very Cloudy, Put up a pair Saches & a Window which fell from 2^d. Story—Paid Robinson for 938^{tw}—Hay at 100 C^{ts}. & 12 Bush^a Corn at 60 Cents—total \$16.88—took down my Camp Bed Stead—& Sot up in my Room a Bed Stead, Visitors today Sarah Bay—Mary Fields went home with her Brother—[3]

1814 Wednesday March 16.} Continued—Got 60 Bush^a Corn of M^r. OHenlin,⁶ Received by D^r. Greens Waggon 42 Slabs from Wades Mill, Carriage brought a Load of Wood—Paid A:Hall⁷ for 20 yards Rope 50 Cents—Sent into our Garden & Put up fallen Trees which fell in the Late Storm, at Night Several Bells & Beaus visited us—{Thursday 17} Cold but Sun Shine Morning—Sent by Omy to farm 6 Pecks, & Salt & X Cut Saw, Visited this Morning Judge Bay⁸ at M^{rs}. Bays. Sarah Bay Sick, Visitors today are—Ja^s: S. Guignard—Carpenters finishing Passage; boarding & making Stair Case—Got from Habermont Shop 20£—10^d Nails, Received by D^r. Greens Waggon from Wades Mill 40 Ruffage boards. Rec^d. a Letter from Ja^s. Ward, a Letter from Windham Trapier P^d—therefore 32 Cents [4]

1814 Friday 18th March,} fine Frosty Morning wind at North. Scipio brought 60 Bush^a Corn more from OHanlin making in all 180 Bush^a. at 60 Cents w^o I paid as by Receipt Yesterday Sent the Printer Form of Advertisement to Publish my history—Answered W: Windham Trapiers Letter, & Ja^s. Ward's, Visitors today are Sarah Bay & M^{rs}. Caroline Guig-

⁶ Terence O'Hanlon, who kept a grocery store on Richardson (Main) Street between Lady and Washington, east side.

⁷ Ainsley Hall, a merchant, who built the large house on the square bounded by Blanding, Pickens, Laurel and Henderson streets, which he sold to Wade Hampton from whose widow it passed to his daughter Mrs. John S. Preston. She sold it to Franklin J. Moses, governor, 1872-1874, and he conveyed it to the State in 1877. It was later acquired for the Ursuline Convent, then for the College for Women, subsequently Chicora College. It is now an apartment house.

⁸ Elihu Hall Bay.

nard, Sophia Hughs & M^r. Willey Nothing to be had at Market. Judge went off this Morning for the Upper Districts, P^d. for a box Waifers 7d. Paid \$102 for 70 Bush^a Corn as by M^r. OHenly receipt Miss Hughs Dined with us, after Night Ann Bay Came Saturday 19th—a fine Morning P^d. for Beef 100 C^{ts}. & for Eggs 1/2—Wrote to Gabriel Guignard for Garden Seeds &c^a—M^r Lance is Returned to Columbia, I Rode out & Saw M^r Douglass—M^r Intendant, M^r Brathwait, M^r Prescott, & M^r Gab^l. Guignard—Sarah Bay, Miss Chevis & M^{rs} Molenot—Dined with us in the afternoon Lieu^t [5] 1814 Saturday 19th March} Continued, Lieu^{ts}. Smith's & Lieu^t. Reynolds.—Called on me as did M^r. Gibbs⁹ & Simons 2 Colegians—Miss Waring & Millen also

{Sunday 20th.} fair day, Billy came to me from the Farm, Visitors today Sarah Bay,

I went to & heard M^r. Lance read a Sermon in the State House & about four—OClock P.M. returned home to M^{rs}. Horry & her Sister M^{rs}. Ioor, Saw Habermonts, M^r Cambell, M^cGill, Simons, Rutledge, Jn^o. Waties M^r. Stark Sen^r—& M^cCords, at the State house this Morning, I dined with Ja^s. S. Guignard, & his Family, after Night a Number of Bells & Beaus Called on us—

Monday 21st } Rainy Morning, finished Stairs to the 2^d Story & boarded under the Corn House—Visitors today are Sarah Bay, Ann, & Mayrant [6] 1814 Monday 21st March.} Continued} I Sent M^r. Faust (the Printer) my History to 12 day of March Last after night M^r. Winstan & Bossard Called on us.—

{Tuesday 22} fine Spring Morning, but Cool & Windy Sent Carriage for Wood—received a Quantity of Garden Seeds & Shrubbery from Gabriel Guignard, Served out a Weeks Allowance—Visitors today are Sarah Bay Ann Chivers—Finished Lining my bed Room floored a Room in 2^d Story, above the Parlour, Court of Sessions meets today, & Colegians to be Tried for their Late Riot in the Colledge—¹⁰ Andrew Burnet is Said to be Dead M^r Cambell & Bossard after night Visited me—I Receiv^d. a Letter from J^{no} Ioor of Mississiey & from Windham Trapier of Winyaw—{Wednesday 23^d} Spring Weather Visitors today M^r. & M^{rs} Ja^s. Guignard, Sarah Bay. Got half Bush^l Potatoseed from S^d Guignard—Rode out to Farm & brought home a Hog—Visited Miss Smyth & Miss Hughs—Dined at home. Laid hearth in a Room up Stairs Got a Hook & Eye from Prescott & C^o—[7] 1814 March 23. Continued. Rec^d. a Letter from D^r. Brownfield a Letter from Windham Trapier & Another from Major Keith.—Answered Trapiers

⁹ Gibbes.

¹⁰ See LaBorde's *History of the South Carolina College*.

Letters by Keiths Servant man Adam—{Thursday 24}—Began to Plain & Jount flooring Boards of the Hall finished a Closet under Stairs Leading to 2^d. Story Visitors today are Sarah Bay. James Guignard & his Wife & Mr. Mulder P^d. for Milk 100 Cents—P^d. for Butter 100 Cents—for Table Salt 50 C^{ts}.—Wrote to John Ioor Bought of Wicht & C^o. 2½ yds homespun for Sam's Shirt, Got of Glaze & Prescott 7 Setts hasps & Staples—Anything may now be Planted without fear of being Killed by the Frost. Buddy mended M^r—Ja^s. Guignards Cart., after Night M^r. M^oIver Visited me. also Ann Bay at Sun Set.—

(To be continued)

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NOTES AND REVIEWS

This department will print queries concerning South Carolina history and genealogy. Copy should be sent to the Editor, South Carolina Historical Society, Fireproof Building, Charleston 5, S. C.

By action of the executors of the estate of the late Langdon Cheves, ownership of the latter's private papers and of his collection of historical manuscripts has been vested in the South Carolina Historical Society. According to the terms of Mr. Cheves's will the Society received a legacy of \$1000 and such of his papers as the executors should agree to preserve. These papers were found, after careful examination, to be so uniformly valuable that it was decided to retain practically all of them. The collection, which is the largest and, in certain respects, the most valuable now in the possession of the Society, will bear the name of its donor.

Through an arrangement with the South Caroliniana Library, the Society has received extensive portions of the records of Chafee and O'Brien and W. E. Holmes and Company, two former Charleston business firms. These records were originally acquired by the South Caroliniana Library, but, on being found to be too voluminous for preservation by one institution, they were divided and the choice of certain parts was generously offered to the Society. The materials selected have to do mainly with transactions within the city of Charleston over a period beginning in the late 1870's.

Mr. Richard L. Allston, of All Saints Parish, has presented to the Society an account book of Dr. Andrew Hasell covering the years from 1843 to 1856. This interesting record consists of itemized charges for medical services rendered both masters and slaves who were living on the plantations of Waccamaw Neck.

Mrs. John E. Gibbs has placed on deposit with the Society a collection of the muniments of the Ball family.

The Society has received from Mr. Charles F. Jenkins an autographed letter of the late Ben Robertson, dated December 28, 1942.

Among recent additions to the printed collections of the Society are: Alex. Pringle, *The Records of the Pringles or Hoppringles of the Scottish Bor-*

der, London and Edinburgh, 1944 (gift of Mrs. Mary Pringle Fenhagen) and Julius H. Heyward, *Nicholas Trott . . . a Sketch*, n. p., n. d. (gift of Miss Louise Blake).

A special meeting of the Society was held on June 10. The results of efforts to add to the manuscript collections were reported (see recent announcements of accessions), and ways and means of improving the building were discussed.

The following applications for membership in the Society have been received since the last issue of the *Magazine*: Mrs. W. W. Boddie, Mrs. Henry Jervey, Mrs. Sylva Lecher, Webber D. Mott, Miss Louisa B. Poppenheim, Miss Miriam B. Wilson (all of Charleston), and Charles Edward Hartley (Saint Cloud, Fla.).

Modification of government restrictions on the use of paper has made it possible to proceed with the plan to reprint those numbers of the *Magazine* which are near the point of exhaustion. The completion of the numbers which are now in press will enable the secretary to continue to fill orders for complete sets. The current edition will also be supplemented to provide for the increasing number of members, and the printer holds out the hope that future numbers can be issued on time.

Mrs. Mary Pringle Fenhagen has called attention to the following errors in the "St. Helena's Parish Register" as published in this *Magazine* (XXIII, p. 187):

Alexander McPherson DeSaussure died in 1768 not 1758.

Mary Magdalen DeSaussure did not die "early in life" but married Alexander Edwards, son of John Edwards and his second wife, Margaret Peronneau.

Sarah Ameila DeSaussure married Timothy Ford not Alexander L. Edwards. The date of the marriage was January 17, 1793.

Information Wanted

Mr. G. L. Summer, 1707 Lindsey Street, Newberry, S. C., wants the exact date of the arrival of Dr. Freeborn Adams in Ninety Six District. Dr. Adams migrated from Newbury, Mass., to South Carolina about the time of the Revolution, built a home at Coate's Shop (now Newberry), and became a prominent physician and surgeon.

Mr. W. A. Horne, 1319 First National Building, Birmingham, Ala., desires information regarding Isaac Rutledge, whose father is thought to have been a cousin of Edward and John Rutledge and to have moved from the

neighborhood of Charleston to Surry County, N. C. Isaac Rutledge married Ruth Steelman, and about 1823 he moved to Lincoln County, Tenn.

The ninth annual meeting of the University South Caroliniana Society was held in Columbia on May 31. The formal acceptance by the South Caroliniana Library of a bequest of books from J. Rion McKissick, late president of the University, was the central theme of the meeting. Many of the rare books from the McKissick Collection were on exhibit, and the anniversary address, delivered by Dr. D. D. Wallace, of Wofford College, emphasized the importance of the collector in promoting the study of history.

The Dalcho Historical Society was organized on April 23, 1945, with the Reverend H. D. Bull as president, the Right Reverend Albert S. Thomas as vice president, and Miss Marie H. Heyward (16 Azalea Road, Charleston, S. C.) as secretary and treasurer. Named in honor of Frederick Dalcho, the historian of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, this new organization will endeavor to foster further study of the Church's history.

Records Wanted

The South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina is seeking the letters (either originals or copies) of the late Professor Yates Snowden. Having acquired the library and the private papers of Professor Snowden, the South Caroliniana Library desires to add to the collection as many as possible of the letters written by Professor Snowden in order that these may be catalogued with letters received from his many correspondents. The Library will also be grateful for information leading to the location of the papers of Professor Snowden's Mother, Mrs. Mary Amaritha Snowden, whose public services during and after the Confederate War deserve the recognition which only the careful preservation of her letters can fully assure. Mrs. Robert L. Meriwether, who is in charge of the arrangement of the Snowden papers, states that their use will be restricted until their contents can with propriety be generally used.

The College of Charleston Library desires to add to its collection of Lancelot Minor Harris papers pertinent items of any kind which his friends and acquaintances will contribute.

A recent issue of the *South Carolina Magazine* (volume VIII, number 3, no date) is devoted to Horry County and Conway. An historical sketch of both the town and the county was contributed by Paul Quattlebaum, a member of this Society.

The July (1945) number of *Rhode Island History* contains three letters written in 1765 by John Scott, a merchant of Charleston, to one of his correspondents in Rhode Island.

The contents of *The Bulletin of Furman University* of May, 1945 (vol. XXVIII, no. 3) includes two articles of interest to South Carolina historians: "Calhoun on Government," by Luther W. Courtney, and "Sale and Application of Commercial Fertilizers in the South Atlantic States to 1900," by Rosser H. Taylor.

William Patterson Cumming's article, entitled "Naming Carolina," which appeared in the January (1945) issue of *The North Carolina Historical Review* presents additional evidence in support of Alexander S. Salley's conclusion that Carolina was so named in 1663 in honor of Charles II of England and not at an earlier date in honor of Charles IX of France (*Bulletin of the Historical Commission of South Carolina*, 1926). The author has brushed aside the one instance in which Mr. Salley found the term used prior to 1663 by showing that the text which the latter consulted was faulty.

Local History: How to Gather It, Write It, and Publish It (New York, The Social Science Research Council, 1944, pp. xiv, 186, \$1.00) by Donald Dean Parker, revised and edited by Bertha E. Josephson, does not belie its title. Naturally it does not answer all the questions that will arise in the writing of the history of any particular locality; but it describes the general sources of information, such as the unpublished schedules of the Federal Census, which are useful in writing the history of all communities, discusses the different types of records which are to be found in every community, and tells how to make effective notes, how to present the data contained in the notes, and finally how to go about getting the results into print. There are few who will not find helpful advice in this guide.

Helen E. Livingston, author of the article entitled "Thomas Morritt, Schoolmaster at the Charleston Free School, 1723-1728," which appears in the June (1945) issue of the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, is apparently unaware that an article on the same subject was contributed to this *Magazine* in January, 1931, by E. L. Pennington. The two articles differ little except in the rendering of supposedly verbatim quotations from Morritt's reports to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which had sent him to South Carolina.

Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *Building a Church on the Santee, 1804-1807*, is the latest addition to the historical series of The Charleston Museum Leaflets (No. 21, June, 1945). The author presents and interprets an interesting collection of documents relating to the construction of the North

Santee Episcopal Church, which once stood near the ferry in Prince George Winyah Parish.

South Carolina: Economic and Social Conditions in 1944. Edited by W. H. Callcott. (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. vii, 239. \$2.50) is the first book of a publishing agency which South Carolina has long needed. It contains the following articles: "Natural Resources" by James T. Penney, "Population" by Julian J. Petty, "Manufacturing Industries" by S. M. Derrick, "Income and Savings" by George McCutchen, "Agriculture" by Alfred G. Smith, Sr., "State Governmental Organization" by George R. Sherrill, "Public Education" by J. McT. Daniel, and "Public Welfare" by George Croft Williams. The primary object of each author was to describe conditions as they were at the time of writing, but in several cases the historical development has been traced.

Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian. By Francis Butler Simkins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944. Pp. xii, 577. Illustrations, bibliography. \$4.50.)

The author of this interesting study of the most controversial character in South Carolina history was well prepared for his task. Mr. Simkins was born in Edgefield County and therefore knows at first hand the somewhat puzzling Tillman locale. From his Conservative kinsmen, however, he has had ample opportunity to imbibe the anti-Tillman point of view. He was educated at the University of South Carolina at a time when Tillman's assaults upon that institution were still being resented, but a long period of residence as graduate student and teacher in other states has given him the advantages of perspective. For a quarter of a century he has been probing into the Tillman period of South Carolina history with the result that he has made more original contributions to the study of these years than any other historian.

The present work is a revision and an amplification of the author's book entitled *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina*, which appeared in 1926 (see review in this *Magazine*, XXVIII, pp. 69-77). Many rewritten passages, additions to and corrections of footnote citations, and numerous alterations in quoted matter bear witness to the thoroughness of the revision. The amplification is most evident in the greatly extended treatment of Tillman's career in national politics, which began in 1895 and ended with his death in 1918.

Mr. Simkins' approach is best described in the following passage from his prefatory summary of Tillman's life:

"Ben Tillman led the most significant transformation in the political life of South Carolina since Reconstruction. He took the control of the state from Wade Hampton and the Bourbons and gave it to himself and his

farmer friends. There is danger of overemphasizing the social importance of this transfer of power, for both Hampton and Tillman were ever loyal Southerners who believed in the Confederate tradition, white supremacy, and the Democratic party; nevertheless, there were important differences which made the rivalry of the two leaders something more than personal. Hampton believed in the rule of white democracy through a leadership derived from a social system which had existed before the Civil War; whereas Tillman believed in the rule of white democracy through a leadership which had arisen as the result of social changes after 1865."

The Tillmans did not differ widely from their aristocratic neighbors either in the matter of social antecedents or in that of economic status, but they chose, so to speak, to live on the other side of the railroad tracks. They were "as free and lawless," Mr. Simkins says, "as they were strong-minded and proud." These qualities Ben was to reveal in acts of violence during the turbulent years of Reconstruction and in "flaming words" during all the days of his life. He was little else, however, than a progressive farmer, living an exemplary domestic life and eagerly catching up on the education that the War had denied him, when suddenly he felt the full force of the agricultural depression into which the country was plunged in the early 1880's. Blaming his failure to recoup on his ignorance of scientific methods he made himself the champion of education for the farmers. This quickly led to the discovery that he possessed the qualities of a successful agitator, and by degrees his criticism of the state government was broadened into a frontal attack upon everybody and everything associated with its administration. His campaign culminated in 1890 when he was elected to the governorship.

The ensuing years proved that Tillman was a radical only in words. As Mr. Simkins says, his "program of educational, constitutional, and administrative reform was so moderate that conservative traditions were scarcely violated" (pp. vii-viii). As governor he attempted nothing more revolutionary than the establishment of a public monopoly of the liquor traffic which eventually he had the humiliation of seeing go to pieces amid such an orgy of corruption as the state had never seen. During his twenty-two years in the United States Senate Tillman sacrificed little of his vivid personality. He was known the country over as "Pitchfork Ben," but he was less insistent in his championship of reform. He could even co-operate on occasion with the "superannuated Bourbon aristocrats" whom he had driven from office. When he realized the lengths to which such a man as Coleman L. Blease could carry the arts of the demagogue, he expressed doubts of "the wisdom of ever having emancipated these 'wool-hat, one-gallus' men from the domination of the oligarchy" (p. 551).

In treating the cruder aspects of Tillman's political tactics Mr. Simkins does not spare his subject. "His picturesque manners and brazen speech" are described as having created "the lively sort of interest which the clown inspires" (p. 151), and, after the appearance of Tillman on the South Carolina hustings, "the brute strength of noise" is said to have "supplanted reason as a means of settling political issues" (p. 115). In phrases which Tillman himself would probably have approved had they been applied to anyone but himself the author goes on to point out that "Once he got his mouth to the public teat he found the milk so sweet that he did not let go as long as he lived" (p. 139) and that, after becoming a United States Senator, Tillman made sure that he got "his share of the swill at the public trough" (p. 20). Yet Mr. Simkins, it is quite clear, feels that the ill-mannered Tillman was better fitted to rule South Carolina under the new conditions created by the War and Reconstruction than was Wade Hampton, whom he describes as fitting perfectly Tillman's definition of the 'broken-down aristocrat' " (p. 187).

To anyone familiar with the course of events in South Carolina prior to the advent of Tillman it will appear that Mr. Simkins has overemphasized the evils of the Conservative regime. In pronouncing Tillman's simple analysis of political trends a "brilliant interpretation of South Carolina history" (p. 71) he has overlooked a liberal movement which traces back at least to the time of Christopher Gadsden and to which Tillman was heavily indebted, apparently without knowing it. No one, for instance, is desirous of depriving Tillman of credit for the part he played in the establishment of the South Carolina Industrial and Winthrop College, but in fairness to the Conservatives it should have been pointed out that as far back as 1858 the state had created a training school for women teachers which was authorized to grant twice as many free scholarships as Winthrop was allowed to offer. A more careful analysis of the votes in the sessions of the General Assembly preceding Tillman's election would probably show that his reforms had more Conservative support than Mr. Simkins thinks. In fact, a thorough study of the immediate antecedents of Tillmanism would disclose that those in power were gradually making important concessions to the farmers' demands, which, it should be remembered, were not necessarily contrary to their own interests.

But what Mr. Simkins takes from the Conservative side of the scale he does not always add to that of the Reformers. He has taken no pains to show that Tillman aroused the hopes of hundreds of the discontented in the low country, even in Charleston, as well as in the up country. The claim that Tillman's greatest achievement was to advance the cause of democracy is not supported by a careful comparison of the votes cast in the Tillman

campaigns with those of preceding years. The effect of fine passages which reveal the author's appreciation of the real worth of Tillman is too frequently offset by comments that border on the facetious.

Mr. Simkins does not feel that Tillman has had a square deal at the hands of South Carolina historians. Though he praises *The History of South Carolina* by D. D. Wallace as a "monumental work of almost unparalleled importance" (p. 560), he finds that the author has been a party to "a general conspiracy to reduce the importance of Tillman in the annals of the state" (p. 227). W. W. Ball's *The State That Forgot* is described as "the most important book of reminiscences" of the period, but it is said to be "only as boldly critical as an acceptance of the South Carolina tribal faith allows" (pp. 560-61). "All the relevant facts about Clemson" are admitted to be in A. G. Holmes and G. R. Sherrill's *Thomas Green Clemson*, but the book is regarded as lacking in "an adequate understanding of Tillman's part in the founding of the College" (pp. 563-64). Finally, the author is of the opinion that Conservative leaders in general (their names are not mentioned) have engaged in a "devastating conspiracy of silence, omitting references to Tillman in the published recollections of the immediate past" (p. 549).

Whether the present biography will stand as the definitive study of Tillman will depend, of course, upon the thoroughness and the skill with which the author has used the available materials, the revelations of sources which may later come to light, and the changing emphases in historical interpretation. Mr. Simkins' main reliance was the voluminous collection of Tillman papers in the South Caroliniana Library. These are reported, however, to be disappointing, and the most valuable portion was removed, for some unexplained reason, before the author's work was completed. In view of the fact that Mr. Simkins was denied the use of the John Gary Evans papers (also in the South Caroliniana Library) and found such records of other contemporaries as he examined of so little value, one is tempted to believe that the papers of Joseph W. Barnwell, James Conner, and Edward McCrady (in the South Carolina Historical Society), those of Thomas Green Clemson (in the Clemson College Library), and those of John P. Grace (in private possession) may throw additional light on the Tillman movement. It may also be that the records of the State Grange (in the Clemson College Library), those of the South Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical Society (in the United States Department of Agriculture), *The Rural Carolinian* (organ of the Grange), and *The Cotton Plant* (organ of the Farmers' Alliance) will yield significant information regarding the agricultural revolt. It is not impossible, however, that none of these data will essentially alter the bold portrait which Mr. Simkins has drawn.

J. H. E.

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